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net is 75 feet long and 12 feet 10 inches broad. It is tied at each end to the top of a pole, probably of *hau* wood (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) 6 feet 10 inches long. A strong cord of hemp, probably of European manufacture, extends along the edges of the net. To this cord at the upper edge of the net are fastened 12 floats (*uto*) of *hau* wood 24 inches long. These are attached approximately every 6 feet to the suspension rope by strings tied through holes in the upper ends of the floats. The middle float was called *pito-o-te-kupenga* (the-navel-of-the-net). The lower edge of the net is weighted by 13 stones wrapped in banana tree bark and tied to the edging cord. These sinkers (*kaka*) weigh 196 grams and have an average length of 5 feet. When a shoal of fish was sighted, the two poles were stuck in the sand and the fish were driven toward the net.

Geiseler (87, p. 37) mentions a net 200 feet long but this is probably exaggerated.

The *kupenga viri* (*viri*, to roll) was identical to the *kupenga maito* and was generally used at night.

The *kupenga matiro* had smaller meshes than those of the *kupenga maito* but the principle of the net was the same. It was used to catch *matiro*, a leaping fish.

The *kupenga ihe* was used to catch *ihe* (needle fish). It was the same type as the *kupenga maito* but was larger and had smaller meshes. It was carried to its place by several swimmers.

CASTING NETS

Though casting nets were not enumerated by my informants, they were seen by Thomson (215, p. 460): "Their light casting nets were used with great dexterity as they waded along the beach, and when a shoal of small fish appeared, the net was thrown with the right hand."

TURTLE NETS

For a great many years no turtles (*honu, kepukepu*) have been seen off the shores of Easter Island. The natives explain their disappearance by the passing of the kings (p. 133). Island folklore has many stories about turtles, and numerous petroglyphs represent them. Turtle shells which were worn as ornaments have been found in caves and graves.

My informant says that when turtles were seen, natives jumped into their canoes and went to meet them. They dived near the turtles and drove them into a special net (*kupenga honu*), similar to the *kupenga matiro* but with wider meshes and stronger ropes.

SINKERS

Twelve net sinkers are preserved in the Bishop Museum collection. Four have an artificial perforation, and the others are basalt rocks with a natural hole (fig. 13, *a*).

Of the four stones intentionally perforated, two are nearly flat with holes near one edge like the net weights of Tahiti (fig. 13, *c*). The remaining two belong to a widespread Polynesian type which, in its most characteristic form, is a sphere with a perforated projection at the top. In the same collection, a stone disc with a central hole (B2614) may well have been a sinker.

Three small oval stones weighing about ½ ounce each (fig. 13, *c-d*) are grooved for attachment of a cord. They are labeled in Young's catalog as "*atua mangaro*, fetish stones used by *tulunga* (sorcerers)." The natives identified them as ear pendants to increase their commercial value; they emphatically denied my suggestion that the

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To catch needle fish (*ihe*) the Marquesans had a special net of the same type as that used for flying fish. It was a small bag fixed to the arms of a fork lashed to a pole (142, p. 400). It is possible that the description of the *kupenga ihe* given by my informant is inaccurate and that the Easter Island *kupenga ihe* was like the Marquesan. However, in the Tuamotus the needle fish are caught in traps, hence we may assume that set nets could be used for the same purpose.

Fish Spears

Spears used by modern natives are of European manufacture. It is impossible to determine whether a spear is old or has been introduced by Tahitian settlers. When Roussel (190, p. 355) landed on Easter Island in 1866, some of the natives were armed with European harpoons. Modern spears are from 3 to 5 meters long and belong to two types, one a simple spear with an iron point, the other with a compound point working on the principle of a fish gorge. The fisherman dives, his eyes protected by glasses, and pierces fish that swim within his reach.

Turtle Watchtowers

Turtles were watched for from turtle watchtowers (*tupa*) along the shore near ancient settlements.

One tower at La Pérouse Bay (pl. 2, *B*) is 3 meters high and the diameter of its base is about 7 meters. The entrance is 80 cm. high and 1.10 meters broad. The interior of the building consists of big, unhewn stones, well laid. Inside they project gradually until they are spanned by slabs forming a crude corbeled vault. The largest tower is situated between La Pérouse and ahu Mahatua, near ahu Vai-mangeo. The tower has a kind of wing containing an inner chamber.

The *tupa* of ahu Akapu, seen by Cook and his party (83, vol. 1, p. 570) and accurately described by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 254), is still in fairly good condition. Its construction is similar to that of the tower at La Pérouse. The interior chamber is 24 feet long by 6 feet wide and 7 feet high in the center. The walls are 4 feet thick and the door is 2 feet high by 2 feet wide.

Thomson (215, p. 484) and Routledge (194, p. 218) were told that these towers were lookout stations whence the movements of turtles and fish could be watched, and I was given the same explanation. Skottsberg (208, vol. 1, p. 12) was puzzled by the importance of the towers with their lower apartments, which are in no reasonable proportion to the purpose for which they were built. Though they are along the shore, these towers do not give the watchers any better view of the sea than any near-by hill. There are no such towers on the south coast; on the north they are few—I know of only five. In the Tuamotus and Hawaii, watchers sat at certain points along the coast to signal the arrival of turtles or fish. Heaps of stones served as elevations. The *tupa* of Easter Island were probably most similar to the Hawaiian fishermen's shrines (*ko'a*), which were terraces of stone. On some of them stood

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225 349 a house where the priest slept in order to learn the issue of a projected fishing party or to have revealed by a god the presence of a shoal of fish.

There is nothing in the *tupa* to facilitate access to the top of the tower, which is not a very comfortable place. The vaulted chamber inside suggests no practical purpose, since a cave or shelter would have been quite sufficient for the watchers, whose homes stood near the tower. Turtles were not, even then, common on Easter Island, where the climate is too cold for them and where there are only a few sandy beaches.

Eel Snaring

226 227 To catch eels (*koreha-puhi, koreha-tapatea, koreha-haoko, koreha-toko-ari, koreha-mingo, koreha-ruma*), the natives use a snare (*here-koreha*) made of two sticks, generally 50 or 60 cm. long.

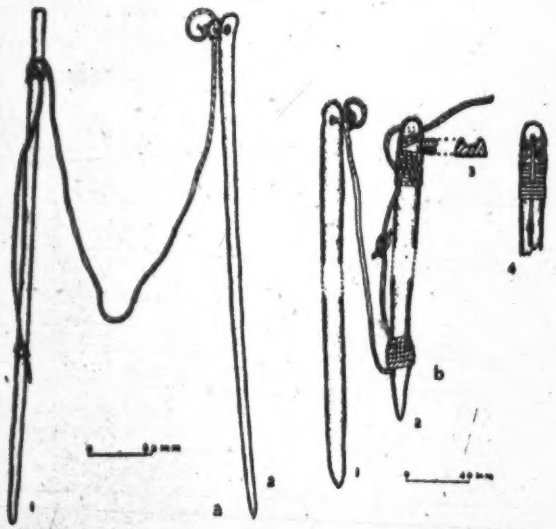

Figure 14.—Eel snares. *a*, snare collected by Geiseler in 1884 (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4922); 1, bait stick 622 mm. long; 2, stick with noose 640 mm. long; *b*, ancient snare (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4880): 1, stick with noose 245 mm. long; 2, bait stick 310 mm. long; 3, black stone; 4, lateral view of bait stick.

The thicker end of one of the sticks is perforated and a cord passes through the hole and is tied to the stick with a knot. The cord then passes between the knot and the stick to form a noose and the end of the cord is tied to the other stick (fig. 14). Bait is attached to the second stick while the one with the loop remains in the water perfectly still. The eels are caught along the shore. When an eel is attracted by the bait, the fisherman pushes the stick with the noose toward it so that to reach the bait the eel